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MINUTES OF A CONVERSATION

Excerpts

(WASHINGTON) May 28, 1941

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The Ambassador commented that under the Japanese constitutional system other ministers in addition to the Foreign Minister are consulted in matters relating to foreign policy.

The Secretary said that in his consideration of the matters we have been exploring a difficulty has been presented by questions involving the relations of our respective countries toward the European war. Mr. Matsukaze since his return from Europe, according to reports widely published in the press, has been making declarations on every occasion in regard to Japan's obligations under the Tripartite Alliance in the matter of supporting Germany in the event of American entry into the war. He said that, if we went into an agreement with Japan, critics would assert, unless the Japanese Government could clarify its attitude toward its obligations under the Tripartite Alliance in the event that the United States should be drawn into the European war through action in the line of self-defense, that there was no assurance as to Japan's position. The Secretary referred to the President's speech of the previous evening and reviewed what the Secretary had previously said publicly and also to the Ambassador in regard to the attitude of this country toward maintaining the freedom of the seas against Hitler as an essential measure of self-defense.

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The Secretary then brought up the question of the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China and asked the Ambassador to indicate what the Japanese Government had in mind.

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The Ambassador indicated, in reply to specific questions, that such evacuation would not include troops retained in China under the provision of cooperative defense against communistic activities. He contemplated an arrangement being negotiated with China similar to the Boxer Protocol under which Japanese troops would be stationed for an indefinite period in North China and Inner Mongolia. The Ambassador said he could not indicate approximately how many troops it was proposed to station in China under such an arrangement or define precisely the areas in which the arrangement would be operative.

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The Secretary commented that it seemed to him important that relations between China and Japan should be adjusted on a basis which would offer permanent promise of friendship between the two countries; that the continued presence of Japanese troops in China would be a factor operating against such friendship, as the presence of these troops tended to produce incidents and friction;

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（アシントン）一九四一年（昭和十六年）五月廿八日拔草
（僕 該覧書面）

大使は日本の憲法制度だけは外交政策の關係あるもの
は外務大臣の外に他の大臣にお尋ねする所であると
説明した。

國務長官は彼の考へる所では古きは政治、戦争に対する
3 日米両國の關係を含む種々な問題からも、英國を
を研究しに來たのであると述べた。彼等は廣く範
度の広い報道によれば松島氏は諭諭が帰つて
以来凡ゆる機会に於てアメリカが戦争に参りかゝる
場合三國同盟に基いて自己を援助するといふ
日本が國務省に與へる声を述べた。彼は若くも
我が國が日本と協定を結んだとして山アメリカが
正當防衛の爲めに沿つた行動を支持する。戦争は
機会に与えられた場合若くも日本政府が三國同盟
基づく義務に対する態度をはつきりするが出来
ないならば日本は地位には何等保護がなくなりて

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（まか）と批評家は讃嘆する。あると述べてゐる。
長官は大航海の歴史に対する演説にて及
又且て自分が公に及び同大使に述べたものから、いかに
防衛の必要な段落をピートラーに対抗する航海の自由
を維持するかに關するアメリカの態度を批評する
のである。

まかから長官は日本の中華民國撤兵問題を取り
上げ大使に日本政府の考へを示すやう依頼した

大使は此の特殊な向に答へて新規の撤兵は若者
の義活動に対する共同防衛規約に基き、
中國に駐屯せりてある軍隊は令まなど述べて
彼は以前條約に似た協定が中華民國と支那を
やるやあらうことを豫期した。この協定は依頼は
華北及び内蒙古に日本軍が終期限に駐屯する
事に係る。所がこの協定は依頼大凡どり位の軍隊が
中國に駐屯する事を令へられやうがたを示すもの

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も出来ば又どう地域へか協定が立つかと生ずる
ことを詳細説明することは出来ないと大使は話す
なりである。

長官は日華關係が兩國の友誼と永久に終束する
様な基礎上に整へられければならぬといふが自分には
重要なるに思はれし又日本軍が支那を中國へ
輸出するには何件駒橋を起り易いが如く新橋
友誼に付し悪い影響を及ぼす恐れがあるから
と批評する。

外交關係二、四四。一四四二頁。

AMERICAN DRAFT PROTOCOL HANDED TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR
(NOHARA) ON MAY 31, 1941Unofficial, Exploratory
and without Commitment

(WASHINGTON) May 31, 1941.

The Governments of the United States and of Japan accept joint responsibility for the initiation and conclusion of a general agreement of understanding as expressed in a joint declaration.

Without reference to specific causes of recent estrangement, it is the sincere desire of both Governments that the incidents which led to the deterioration of amicable sentiment between their countries should be prevented from recurrence and corrected in their unforeseen and unfortunate consequences.

It is our present hope that, by a cooperative effort, the United States and Japan may contribute effectively toward establishment and preservation of peace in the Pacific area; and, by the rapid consummation of an amicable understanding, arrest, if not dispel, the tragic confusion that now threatens to engulf civilization.

For such decisive action, protracted negotiations would seem ill-suited and weakening. Both Governments, therefore, desire that adequate instrumentalities should be developed for the realization of a general understanding which would bind, meanwhile, both Governments in honor and in act.

It is the belief of the two Governments that such an understanding should comprise only the pivotal issues of urgency and not the accessory concerns which could be deliberated at a conference.

Both governments presume to anticipate that they could achieve harmonious relations if certain situations and attitudes were clarified or improved; to wit:

1. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.
2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.
3. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.
4. Commerce between both nations.
5. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.
6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.
7. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

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Accordingly, the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan have come to the following mutual understanding and declaration of policy:

I. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.

Both Governments affirm that their national policies are directed toward the foundation of a lasting peace and the inauguration of a new era of reciprocal confidence and cooperation among our peoples.

Both Governments declare that it is their traditional, and present, concept and conviction that nations and races compose, as members of a family, one household; each equally enjoying rights and admitting responsibilities with a mutuality of interests regulated by peaceful processes and directed to the pursuit of their moral and physical welfare, which they are bound to defend for themselves as they are bound not to destroy for others; they further admit their responsibilities to oppose the oppression or exploitation of other nations.

Both Governments are firmly determined that their respective traditional concepts on the character of nations and the underlying moral principles of social order and national life will continue to be preserved and never transformed by foreign ideas or ideologies contrary to those moral principles and concepts.

II. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.

The Government of Japan maintains that the purpose of the Tripartite Pact was, and is, defensive and is designed to prevent the participation of nations in the European war not at present involved in it. Obviously, the provisions of the Pact do not apply to involvement through acts of self-defense.

The Government of the United States maintains that its attitude toward the European hostilities is and will continue to be determined solely and exclusively by considerations of protection and self-defense; its national security and the defense thereof.

III. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

The Japanese Government having communicated to the Government

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of the United States the general terms within the framework of which the Japanese Government will propose the negotiation of a peaceful settlement with the Chinese Government, which terms are declared by the Japanese Government to be in harmony with the Konoe principles regarding neighborly friendship and mutual respect of sovereignty and territories and with the practical application of those principles, the President of the United States will suggest to the Government of China that the Government of China and the Government of Japan enter into a negotiation on a basis mutually advantageous and acceptable for a termination of hostilities and resumption of peaceful relations.

NOTE: (The foregoing draft of Section III is subject to further discussion of the question of cooperative defense against communistic activities, including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory.)

IV. Commerce between both nations.

When official approbation to the present understanding has been given by both Governments, the United States and Japan shall assure each other mutually to supply such commodities as are, respectively, available and required by either of them. Both Governments further consent to take necessary steps to resume normal trade relations as formerly established under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan. If a new commercial treaty is desired by both Governments, it would be negotiated as soon as possible and be concluded in accordance with usual procedures.

V. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.

On the basis of mutual pledges hereby given that Japanese activity and American activity in the Pacific area shall be carried on by peaceful means and in conformity with the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations, the Japanese Government and the Government of the United States agree to cooperate each with the other toward obtaining non-discriminatory access by Japan and by the United States to commercial supplies of natural resources (such as oil, rubber, tin, nickel) which each country needs for the safeguarding and development of its own economy.

VI. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.

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The Japanese Government and the Government of the United States declare that the controlling policy underlying this understanding is peace in the Pacific area; that it is their fundamental purpose, through cooperative effort, to contribute to the maintenance and the preservation of peace in the Pacific area; and that neither has territorial designs in the area mentioned.

VII. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

The Government of Japan declares its willingness to enter at such time as the Government of the United States may desire into negotiation with the Government of the United States with a view to the conclusion of a treaty for the neutralization of the Philippine Islands, when Philippine independence shall have been achieved.

(Annex 1)

ANNEX AND SUPPLEMENT ON THE PART OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

III. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

The basic terms as referred to in the above section are as follows:

1. Neighborly friendship.
2. (Cooperative defense against injurious communistic activities--including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory.) Subject to further discussion.
3. Economic cooperation--by which China and Japan will proceed on the basis of non-discrimination in international commercial relations.
4. Mutual respect of sovereignty and territories.
5. Mutual respect for the inherent characteristics of each nation cooperating as good neighbors and forming a Far Eastern nucleus contributing to world peace.
6. Withdrawal of Japanese military and naval forces from Chinese territory and Chinese waters as promptly as possible and in accordance with an agreement to be concluded between Japan and China.
7. No annexation.
8. No indemnities.
9. Amicable negotiation in regard to Manchukuo.

(Annex 2)

ANNEX AND SUPPLEMENT ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

II. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.

The position of the Government of the United States toward the military movement of conquest inaugurated by Mr. Hitler is set forth in a public address made by the Secretary of State on April 24, 1941. Some extracts which are directly in point and which are basic in relation to the entire situation are as follows:

"... As waged by them (the aggressor powers) this is not an ordinary war. It is a war of assault by these would-be conquerors, employing every method of barbarism, upon nations which cling to their right to live in freedom and which are resisting in self-defense. . . Such is the movement which is extending rapidly throughout the world.

"If experience shows anything, it shows that no nation anywhere has the slightest reason to feel that it will be exempted from attack by the invader, any more than, in a town overrun by bandits, the wealthiest citizen might expect to be free from attack.

"... Every thinking man can answer the question for himself by simply calling the roll of the wretched victims of world aggression who are now in a condition of semi-slavery, and whose every hope of again enjoying the blessings of civilization depends only on the defeat or failure of the movement of conquest. So it is in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Albania, Luxembourg, France, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia.

"... The conclusion is plain. Now, after some fifteen nations have lost everything that makes life worth living, it is high time that the remaining free countries should arm to the fullest extent and in the briefest time humanly possible and set for their self-preservation.

"... Events have shown beyond possible question that the safety of this hemisphere and of this country calls for resistance wherever resistance will be most effective. . . This policy means, in practical application, that . . . aid must reach its destination in the shortest of time and in maximum quantity. So--ways must be found to do this.

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" . . . Those nations that are making resistance are primarily seeking to save themselves, their homes and their liberties. Great Britain for instance is acting primarily for her own safety. The United States both in its direct defense effort and in the aid which it extends to the resisting nations is likewise acting primarily for its own safety. As safety for the nations that are offering resistance means security for us, aid to them is an essential part of our own defense. Every new conquest makes available to the aggressor greater resources for use against the remaining free peoples. Our aid to the resisting nations is not the mere crusading of a world benefactor. It is based on the definite knowledge that every free nation anywhere is a bastion of strength to all the remaining free peoples everywhere.

" . . . Those Americans who, in effect, are saying that a British defeat would not matter to us, signally overlook the fact that the resulting delivery of the high seas to the invader would create colossal danger to our own national defense and security. The breadth of the sea may give us a little time. It does not give us safety. Safety can only come from our ability, in conjunction with other peace-loving nations, to prevent any aggressor from attaining control of the high seas.

" . . . Some among us, doubtless with the best of intentions, still contend that our country need not resist until armed forces of an invader shall have crossed the boundary line of this hemisphere. But this merely means that there would be no resistance by the hemisphere, including the United States, until the invading countries had acquired complete control of the other four continents and of the high seas, and thus had obtained every possible strategic advantage, reducing us to the corresponding disadvantage of a severely handicapped defense. This is an utterly shortsighted and extremely dangerous view."

The foregoing statements make it clear that the attitude of the Government of the United States is one of resolve to take measures of self-defense in resistance to a movement, which, as has been made unequivocally clear by the acts and utterances of Hitler, is directed to world conquest by force from which no country and no area are excepted. This attitude is based upon a most fundamental consideration--that of the inalienable right of self-defense. The only other attitude this Government could assume would be the suicidal attitude of some fifteen countries in Europe which also were told, as our country is being told, that they would not be molested but that if they should undertake to resist beyond their own boundaries they would be charged with being

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aggressors and with having assumed the offensive. A similar course by this nation from the standpoint of effective defense against the Hitler movement of world conquest would be absurd, futile and suicidal from the standpoint of reasonable precautions for its safety.

In the light of the existing situation, Hitler is the one person who can promptly remove the necessity for efforts at effective self-defense by this country and other countries similarly situated, whereas for any other nation to request that the United States desist from any such resistance would in its actual effect range the country making such request on the side of Hitler and his movement of aggression by force. Hitler is therefore the person who should be addressed in support of peace, rather than those whom he is attacking for the purpose of bringing about their complete subjugation without color of law, or of right, or of humanity.

"Yes, it makes a difference who wins--the difference whether we stand with our backs to the wall with the other four continents against us and the high seas lost, alone defending the last free territories on earth--or whether we keep our place in an orderly world."

Foreign Relations II, pp. 446-451

一九四一年（昭和十六年）六月三十日日本大使館
セラタル米國提案、草案

（アシート）一九四一年（昭和十六年）

六月三十日

（非公式探究的且不拘束的）

米國政府及日本政府、共同宣言於未來明セラタル
了解、遂ニル為、全般的協定、開始及ヒ締結開共
同、責任ヲ負フモノアリ。

近時兩國間、疎遠ナシメタル特殊原因、諭及ル
コトナク兩國政府、兩國間、友好の感情、更ニセラタル
諸事件、再發、防止之于見得、且不幸ナシ結果
、招カザル如、之ノ匡正ベキコト衷心ヨリ布達スル。

共同、努力ヨリ米國及日本、太平洋地域於平
和確立及維持、對之効果の貢献、又友好の了解
、早急ニ遂ニルコトヨリ、今ヤ文明危殆、迫入シシ
アル、悲劇的混亂、消散セガト元祖止スルコト、恭ニ目下
、希望アリ。

斯ル決定の措置、尙ニ交渉、遼延不適ニテ
、消極的アリ、從コトニ兩國政府、向ニ兩國政府、徳義
上及ヒ行動上拘束化全般的了解、遂ニル、充分に
方便、講セラシコト、希望スル。

斯ル了解、解事心ナシ権事向題、ミコト、多日會
議、於ニ審議可能、第二義的向題、含マリモ、

両國信

両國政府、若く或種、事能並ニ態度。鮮明セラヒ又、改善セラヒテ、両國政府、融和的關係到達、得ベシ。期待スルモノアル。

即⁴

(一) (一) 米國及日本、國際關係並ニ國家、性格²ノ概念
(二) (二) 歐洲戰爭³對⁴両國政府、態度

(三) 日本、中國向、平和的解決、行動

(四) 両國向、通商

(五) 太平洋地域⁵於⁶両國、經濟活動

(六) 太平洋地域⁵於⁶政治的⁷安定影響⁸両國、政策
(セ) フリ⁹ハ¹⁰、¹¹、¹²、¹³、¹⁴、¹⁵、¹⁶、¹⁷、¹⁸、¹⁹、²⁰、²¹、²²、²³、²⁴、²⁵、²⁶、²⁷、²⁸、²⁹、³⁰、³¹、³²、³³、³⁴、³⁵、³⁶、³⁷、³⁸、³⁹、⁴⁰、⁴¹、⁴²、⁴³、⁴⁴、⁴⁵、⁴⁶、⁴⁷、⁴⁸、⁴⁹、⁵⁰、⁵¹、⁵²、⁵³、⁵⁴、⁵⁵、⁵⁶、⁵⁷、⁵⁸、⁵⁹、⁶⁰、⁶¹、⁶²、⁶³、⁶⁴、⁶⁵、⁶⁶、⁶⁷、⁶⁸、⁶⁹、⁷⁰、⁷¹、⁷²、⁷³、⁷⁴、⁷⁵、⁷⁶、⁷⁷、⁷⁸、⁷⁹、⁸⁰、⁸¹、⁸²、⁸³、⁸⁴、⁸⁵、⁸⁶、⁸⁷、⁸⁸、⁸⁹、⁹⁰、⁹¹、⁹²、⁹³、⁹⁴、⁹⁵、⁹⁶、⁹⁷、⁹⁸、⁹⁹、¹⁰⁰、¹⁰¹、¹⁰²、¹⁰³、¹⁰⁴、¹⁰⁵、¹⁰⁶、¹⁰⁷、¹⁰⁸、¹⁰⁹、¹¹⁰、¹¹¹、¹¹²、¹¹³、¹¹⁴、¹¹⁵、¹¹⁶、¹¹⁷、¹¹⁸、¹¹⁹、¹²⁰、¹²¹、¹²²、¹²³、¹²⁴、¹²⁵、¹²⁶、¹²⁷、¹²⁸、¹²⁹、¹³⁰、¹³¹、¹³²、¹³³、¹³⁴、¹³⁵、¹³⁶、¹³⁷、¹³⁸、¹³⁹、¹⁴⁰、¹⁴¹、¹⁴²、¹⁴³、¹⁴⁴、¹⁴⁵、¹⁴⁶、¹⁴⁷、¹⁴⁸、¹⁴⁹、¹⁵⁰、¹⁵¹、¹⁵²、¹⁵³、¹⁵⁴、¹⁵⁵、¹⁵⁶、¹⁵⁷、¹⁵⁸、¹⁵⁹、¹⁶⁰、¹⁶¹、¹⁶²、¹⁶³、¹⁶⁴、¹⁶⁵、¹⁶⁶、¹⁶⁷、¹⁶⁸、¹⁶⁹、¹⁷⁰、¹⁷¹、¹⁷²、¹⁷³、¹⁷⁴、¹⁷⁵、¹⁷⁶、¹⁷⁷、¹⁷⁸、¹⁷⁹、¹⁸⁰、¹⁸¹、¹⁸²、¹⁸³、¹⁸⁴、¹⁸⁵、¹⁸⁶、¹⁸⁷、¹⁸⁸、¹⁸⁹、¹⁹⁰、¹⁹¹、¹⁹²、¹⁹³、¹⁹⁴、¹⁹⁵、¹⁹⁶、¹⁹⁷、¹⁹⁸、¹⁹⁹、²⁰⁰、²⁰¹、²⁰²、²⁰³、²⁰⁴、²⁰⁵、²⁰⁶、²⁰⁷、²⁰⁸、²⁰⁹、²¹⁰、²¹¹、²¹²、²¹³、²¹⁴、²¹⁵、²¹⁶、²¹⁷、²¹⁸、²¹⁹、²²⁰、²²¹、²²²、²²³、²²⁴、²²⁵、²²⁶、²²⁷、²²⁸、²²⁹、²³⁰、²³¹、²³²、²³³、²³⁴、²³⁵、²³⁶、²³⁷、²³⁸、²³⁹、²⁴⁰、²⁴¹、²⁴²、²⁴³、²⁴⁴、²⁴⁵、²⁴⁶、²⁴⁷、²⁴⁸、²⁴⁹、²⁵⁰、²⁵¹、²⁵²、²⁵³、²⁵⁴、²⁵⁵、²⁵⁶、²⁵⁷、²⁵⁸、²⁵⁹、²⁶⁰、²⁶¹、²⁶²、²⁶³、²⁶⁴、²⁶⁵、²⁶⁶、²⁶⁷、²⁶⁸、²⁶⁹、²⁷⁰、²⁷¹、²⁷²、²⁷³、²⁷⁴、²⁷⁵、²⁷⁶、²⁷⁷、²⁷⁸、²⁷⁹、²⁸⁰、²⁸¹、²⁸²、²⁸³、²⁸⁴、²⁸⁵、²⁸⁶、²⁸⁷、²⁸⁸、²⁸⁹、²⁹⁰、²⁹¹、²⁹²、²⁹³、²⁹⁴、²⁹⁵、²⁹⁶、²⁹⁷、²⁹⁸、²⁹⁹、³⁰⁰、³⁰¹、³⁰²、³⁰³、³⁰⁴、³⁰⁵、³⁰⁶、³⁰⁷、³⁰⁸、³⁰⁹、³¹⁰、³¹¹、³¹²、³¹³、³¹⁴、³¹⁵、³¹⁶、³¹⁷、³¹⁸、³¹⁹、³²⁰、³²¹、³²²、³²³、³²⁴、³²⁵、³²⁶、³²⁷、³²⁸、³²⁹、³³⁰、³³¹、³³²、³³³、³³⁴、³³⁵、³³⁶、³³⁷、³³⁸、³³⁹、³⁴⁰、³⁴¹、³⁴²、³⁴³、³⁴⁴、³⁴⁵、³⁴⁶、³⁴⁷、³⁴⁸、³⁴⁹、³⁵⁰、³⁵¹、³⁵²、³⁵³、³⁵⁴、³⁵⁵、³⁵⁶、³⁵⁷、³⁵⁸、³⁵⁹、³⁶⁰、³⁶¹、³⁶²、³⁶³、³⁶⁴、³⁶⁵、³⁶⁶、³⁶⁷、³⁶⁸、³⁶⁹、³⁷⁰、³⁷¹、³⁷²、³⁷³、³⁷⁴、³⁷⁵、³⁷⁶、³⁷⁷、³⁷⁸、³⁷⁹、³⁸⁰、³⁸¹、³⁸²、³⁸³、³⁸⁴、³⁸⁵、³⁸⁶、³⁸⁷、³⁸⁸、³⁸⁹、³⁹⁰、³⁹¹、³⁹²、³⁹³、³⁹⁴、³⁹⁵、³⁹⁶、³⁹⁷、³⁹⁸、³⁹⁹、⁴⁰⁰、⁴⁰¹、⁴⁰²、⁴⁰³、⁴⁰⁴、⁴⁰⁵、⁴⁰⁶、⁴⁰⁷、⁴⁰⁸、⁴⁰⁹、⁴¹⁰、⁴¹¹、⁴¹²、⁴¹³、⁴¹⁴、⁴¹⁵、⁴¹⁶、⁴¹⁷、⁴¹⁸、⁴¹⁹、⁴²⁰、⁴²¹、⁴²²、⁴²³、⁴²⁴、⁴²⁵、⁴²⁶、⁴²⁷、⁴²⁸、⁴²⁹、⁴³⁰、⁴³¹、⁴³²、⁴³³、⁴³⁴、⁴³⁵、⁴³⁶、⁴³⁷、⁴³⁸、⁴³⁹、⁴⁴⁰、⁴⁴¹、⁴⁴²、⁴⁴³、⁴⁴⁴、⁴⁴⁵、⁴⁴⁶、⁴⁴⁷、⁴⁴⁸、⁴⁴⁹、⁴⁵⁰、⁴⁵¹、⁴⁵²、⁴⁵³、⁴⁵⁴、⁴⁵⁵、⁴⁵⁶、⁴⁵⁷、⁴⁵⁸、⁴⁵⁹、⁴⁶⁰、⁴⁶¹、⁴⁶²、⁴⁶³、⁴⁶⁴、⁴⁶⁵、⁴⁶⁶、⁴⁶⁷、⁴⁶⁸、⁴⁶⁹、⁴⁷⁰、⁴⁷¹、⁴⁷²、⁴⁷³、⁴⁷⁴、⁴⁷⁵、⁴⁷⁶、⁴⁷⁷、⁴⁷⁸、⁴⁷⁹、⁴⁸⁰、⁴⁸¹、⁴⁸²、⁴⁸³、⁴⁸⁴、⁴⁸⁵、⁴⁸⁶、⁴⁸⁷、⁴⁸⁸、⁴⁸⁹、⁴⁹⁰、⁴⁹¹、⁴⁹²、⁴⁹³、⁴⁹⁴、⁴⁹⁵、⁴⁹⁶、⁴⁹⁷、⁴⁹⁸、⁴⁹⁹、⁵⁰⁰、⁵⁰¹、⁵⁰²、⁵⁰³、⁵⁰⁴、⁵⁰⁵、⁵⁰⁶、⁵⁰⁷、⁵⁰⁸、⁵⁰⁹、⁵¹⁰、⁵¹¹、⁵¹²、⁵¹³、⁵¹⁴、⁵¹⁵、⁵¹⁶、⁵¹⁷、⁵¹⁸、⁵¹⁹、⁵²⁰、⁵²¹、⁵²²、⁵²³、⁵²⁴、⁵²⁵、⁵²⁶、⁵²⁷、⁵²⁸、⁵²⁹、⁵³⁰、⁵³¹、⁵³²、⁵³³、⁵³⁴、⁵³⁵、⁵³⁶、⁵³⁷、⁵³⁸、⁵³⁹、⁵⁴⁰、⁵⁴¹、⁵⁴²、⁵⁴³、⁵⁴⁴、⁵⁴⁵、⁵⁴⁶、⁵⁴⁷、⁵⁴⁸、⁵⁴⁹、⁵⁵⁰、⁵⁵¹、⁵⁵²、⁵⁵³、⁵⁵⁴、⁵⁵⁵、⁵⁵⁶、⁵⁵⁷、⁵⁵⁸、⁵⁵⁹、⁵⁶⁰、⁵⁶¹、⁵⁶²、⁵⁶³、⁵⁶⁴、⁵⁶⁵、⁵⁶⁶、⁵⁶⁷、⁵⁶⁸、⁵⁶⁹、⁵⁷⁰、⁵⁷¹、⁵⁷²、⁵⁷³、⁵⁷⁴、⁵⁷⁵、⁵⁷⁶、⁵⁷⁷、⁵⁷⁸、⁵⁷⁹、⁵⁸⁰、⁵⁸¹、⁵⁸²、⁵⁸³、⁵⁸⁴、⁵⁸⁵、⁵⁸⁶、⁵⁸⁷、⁵⁸⁸、⁵⁸⁹、⁵⁹⁰、⁵⁹¹、⁵⁹²、⁵⁹³、⁵⁹⁴、⁵⁹⁵、⁵⁹⁶、⁵⁹⁷、⁵⁹⁸、⁵⁹⁹、⁶⁰⁰、⁶⁰¹、⁶⁰²、⁶⁰³、⁶⁰⁴、⁶⁰⁵、⁶⁰⁶、⁶⁰⁷、⁶⁰⁸、⁶⁰⁹、⁶¹⁰、⁶¹¹、⁶¹²、⁶¹³、⁶¹⁴、⁶¹⁵、⁶¹⁶、⁶¹⁷、⁶¹⁸、⁶¹⁹、⁶²⁰、⁶²¹、⁶²²、⁶²³、⁶²⁴、⁶²⁵、⁶²⁶、⁶²⁷、⁶²⁸、⁶²⁹、⁶³⁰、⁶³¹、⁶³²、⁶³³、⁶³⁴、⁶³⁵、⁶³⁶、⁶³⁷、⁶³⁸、⁶³⁹、⁶⁴⁰、⁶⁴¹、⁶⁴²、⁶⁴³、⁶⁴⁴、⁶⁴⁵、⁶⁴⁶、⁶⁴⁷、⁶⁴⁸、⁶⁴⁹、⁶⁵⁰、⁶⁵¹、⁶⁵²、⁶⁵³、⁶⁵⁴、⁶⁵⁵、⁶⁵⁶、⁶⁵⁷、⁶⁵⁸、⁶⁵⁹、⁶⁶⁰、⁶⁶¹、⁶⁶²、⁶⁶³、⁶⁶⁴、⁶⁶⁵、⁶⁶⁶、⁶⁶⁷、⁶⁶⁸、⁶⁶⁹、⁶⁷⁰、⁶⁷¹、⁶⁷²、⁶⁷³、⁶⁷⁴、⁶⁷⁵、⁶⁷⁶、⁶⁷⁷、⁶⁷⁸、⁶⁷⁹、⁶⁸⁰、⁶⁸¹、⁶⁸²、⁶⁸³、⁶⁸⁴、⁶⁸⁵、⁶⁸⁶、⁶⁸⁷、⁶⁸⁸、⁶⁸⁹、⁶⁹⁰、⁶⁹¹、⁶⁹²、⁶⁹³、⁶⁹⁴、⁶⁹⁵、⁶⁹⁶、⁶⁹⁷、⁶⁹⁸、⁶⁹⁹、⁷⁰⁰、⁷⁰¹、⁷⁰²、⁷⁰³、⁷⁰⁴、⁷⁰⁵、⁷⁰⁶、⁷⁰⁷、⁷⁰⁸、⁷⁰⁹、⁷¹⁰、⁷¹¹、⁷¹²、⁷¹³、⁷¹⁴、⁷¹⁵、⁷¹⁶、⁷¹⁷、⁷¹⁸、⁷¹⁹、⁷²⁰、⁷²¹、⁷²²、⁷²³、⁷²⁴、⁷²⁵、⁷²⁶、⁷²⁷、⁷²⁸、⁷²⁹、⁷³⁰、⁷³¹、⁷³²、⁷³³、⁷³⁴、⁷³⁵、⁷³⁶、⁷³⁷、⁷³⁸、⁷³⁹、⁷⁴⁰、⁷⁴¹、⁷⁴²、⁷⁴³、⁷⁴⁴、⁷⁴⁵、⁷⁴⁶、⁷⁴⁷、⁷⁴⁸、⁷⁴⁹、⁷⁵⁰、⁷⁵¹、⁷⁵²、⁷⁵³、⁷⁵⁴、⁷⁵⁵、⁷⁵⁶、⁷⁵⁷、⁷⁵⁸、⁷⁵⁹、⁷⁶⁰、⁷⁶¹、⁷⁶²、⁷⁶³、⁷⁶⁴、⁷⁶⁵、⁷⁶⁶、⁷⁶⁷、⁷⁶⁸、⁷⁶⁹、⁷⁷⁰、⁷⁷¹、⁷⁷²、⁷⁷³、⁷⁷⁴、⁷⁷⁵、⁷⁷⁶、⁷⁷⁷、⁷⁷⁸、⁷⁷⁹、⁷⁸⁰、⁷⁸¹、⁷⁸²、⁷⁸³、⁷⁸⁴、⁷⁸⁵、⁷⁸⁶、⁷⁸⁷、⁷⁸⁸、⁷⁸⁹、⁷⁹⁰、⁷⁹¹、⁷⁹²、⁷⁹³、⁷⁹⁴、⁷⁹⁵、⁷⁹⁶、⁷⁹⁷、⁷⁹⁸、⁷⁹⁹、⁸⁰⁰、⁸⁰¹、⁸⁰²、⁸⁰³、⁸⁰⁴、⁸⁰⁵、⁸⁰⁶、⁸⁰⁷、⁸⁰⁸、⁸⁰⁹、⁸¹⁰、⁸¹¹、⁸¹²、⁸¹³、⁸¹⁴、⁸¹⁵、⁸¹⁶、⁸¹⁷、⁸¹⁸、⁸¹⁹、⁸²⁰、⁸²¹、⁸²²、⁸²³、⁸²⁴、⁸²⁵、⁸²⁶、⁸²⁷、⁸²⁸、⁸²⁹、⁸³⁰、⁸³¹、⁸³²、⁸³³、⁸³⁴、⁸³⁵、⁸³⁶、⁸³⁷、⁸³⁸、⁸³⁹、⁸⁴⁰、⁸⁴¹、⁸⁴²、⁸⁴³、⁸⁴⁴、⁸⁴⁵、⁸⁴⁶、⁸⁴⁷、⁸⁴⁸、⁸⁴⁹、⁸⁵⁰、⁸⁵¹、⁸⁵²、⁸⁵³、⁸⁵⁴、⁸⁵⁵、⁸⁵⁶、⁸⁵⁷、⁸⁵⁸、⁸⁵⁹、⁸⁶⁰、⁸⁶¹、⁸⁶²、⁸⁶³、⁸⁶⁴、⁸⁶⁵、⁸⁶⁶、⁸⁶⁷、⁸⁶⁸、⁸⁶⁹、⁸⁷⁰、⁸⁷¹、⁸⁷²、⁸⁷³、⁸⁷⁴、⁸⁷⁵、⁸⁷⁶、⁸⁷⁷、⁸⁷⁸、⁸⁷⁹、⁸⁸⁰、⁸⁸¹、⁸⁸²、⁸⁸³、⁸⁸⁴、⁸⁸⁵、⁸⁸⁶、⁸⁸⁷、⁸⁸⁸、⁸⁸⁹、⁸⁹⁰、⁸⁹¹、⁸⁹²、⁸⁹³、⁸⁹⁴、⁸⁹⁵、⁸⁹⁶、⁸⁹⁷、⁸⁹⁸、⁸⁹⁹、⁹⁰⁰、⁹⁰¹、⁹⁰²、⁹⁰³、⁹⁰⁴、⁹⁰⁵、⁹⁰⁶、⁹⁰⁷、⁹⁰⁸、⁹⁰⁹、⁹¹⁰、⁹¹¹、⁹¹²、⁹¹³、⁹¹⁴、⁹¹⁵、⁹¹⁶、⁹¹⁷、⁹¹⁸、⁹¹⁹、⁹²⁰、⁹²¹、⁹²²、⁹²³、⁹²⁴、⁹²⁵、⁹²⁶、⁹²⁷、⁹²⁸、⁹²⁹、⁹³⁰、⁹³¹、⁹³²、⁹³³、⁹³⁴、⁹³⁵、⁹³⁶、⁹³⁷、⁹³⁸、⁹³⁹、⁹⁴⁰、⁹⁴¹、⁹⁴²、⁹⁴³、⁹⁴⁴、⁹⁴⁵、⁹⁴⁶、⁹⁴⁷、⁹⁴⁸、⁹⁴⁹、⁹⁵⁰、⁹⁵¹、⁹⁵²、⁹⁵³、<

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權利を享有し責任を認めた。事に西國政府傳統的
シテ且現在於モ東洋十國概念入り確信モ下ト
宣言シ更ニ西國政府他國家計五圧迫又採取
反對を責任アリト認メル。

破西國政府國家性格社會秩序並國民生活其基
礎道義向スル大傳統的觀念依然ト存保存
セラ日本等道義及觀念相容サル外來思想又
ノ有無ヨリヨリ此を變更セラサルコト就難平タ決意
有ル。

(一) 歐洲戰爭對ニ西國政府態度

日本政府三國協定目的防衛的下リコト又現
在於モ同様アリト且目下歐洲戰争入居ラザル
國家參戰防止セラヨリコトヨ主張尤協定條
項自己防衛行為ヨリ介入分明ラクニ之適用セラセ
ル。

米國政府其歐洲戰爭對ニ態度現在及將來
ト事務防禦及自衛即國家安全及其防禦
ヨリ考慮ヨリ決定セラコト主張スル。

(二) 日本中國向和平的解決行動

日本政府米國政府對ニ日本政府其外内於
中國政府向和平的解決折衝提案スル全般的
條件通報セラ而ニ日本政府日支事條件善
隣友邦主權及領土相互尊重シ近衛

16. 3

原則及其實際的適用上調和モトト公言セ。依テ米國大統領、中國政府、日本政府、敵對行為、終結及和平的關係再開、為相互有利ニテ後諾可能、基礎其折衝開拓ベキコト提議ベシ。

(三頁)

註(第三章前記章序、日本軍、中國領土内駐屯、始終產運動、共同防衛問題、主張計議要スルモノ)

(四) 両國間、通商

現往了解、對兩國政府公式承認アリタルキ米國及日本、未だ保有シ且兩國、孰々必要トス物資、相互供給ハコト確約ス。更ニ兩國政府以前、日米通商航海條約ヲ確立セラシニ正當、貿易關係再開ニ至要ナル事、講スルコト同意ス。兩國政府新通商條約、希望スル時、之ヲ可及時達ニ交渉、通商、平穏ヨリ締結スベシ。

(五) 太平洋地域、於此兩國、經濟活動

太平洋地域、於此日本、活動及米國活動、和平的手段、且國際通商關係、於此並列、原則則行ハシト、茲ニ當サニシ相互誓約、基ニ日本政府及米國政府、各自經濟保全及發展、專事天然資源(例如石油、鈷、錫、銅等)、通商互供給、日本及米國、無差別の、未得ル様相互協

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(六) 力々事約、
(六) 太平洋地域於政治的安寧影響了兩國政策
日本政府並米國政府比、了解其基礎為支配
的政策、太平洋地域於和平下兩國政府、
根本的目的、太平洋地域於和平維持及保全、
對共同努力より貢献セラコト、又兩國政府、孰
レモ上述地域於領土の野心ナコト、宣言セル。
(七) 之群島、中立化
日本政府、アリ、之、獨立達成セラタニ、米國
政府、你ス當時同政府其、中立化、タク、條約締
結、同アリ、交渉ノ用始ニモ、ナリト、宣言スル。

16.5

西頁/

八附屬書一

(三) 日本政府側、附屬書及補足書

日本中國關係、平和的解決計入行動

二、上記、對於言及セラム基本的條件次如之

二、有唐北支那主義活動、對共同防衛、日本

中國領土内駐屯、合意、更計議事項

三、

三、(經濟的) 二、日本與中國國際通

商關係、於此三原則、基礎基準(キヌトス

主權及領土、相互尊重

五、兩國人民協力、合意、和平、貿易、福

六、中國、成為國家、各自、固有特徵相

三、尊重(上)。(次頁續)

16.6

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- 六 日本陸海軍、中國領土及び領海ヨリ、可及的
遠方カル且日華間ニ締結セラバ干物約三準
- 七、據入ル撤退
- 八、領土、不併合
- 九、滿洲國ニ開ス友好的交渉

(附屬書二)

米國政府側、附屬書目並二補足書

(=) 欧洲戰爭ニ對スニ兩國政府、態度

ヒットラ山氏ヨリ始マレタル征服的軍事行動
ニ對スニ米國政府、立場ハ一九四一年(昭和十六年)四
月三日、國務長官ニヨ心公開演説ニ於テ述べラシ
直接要點衝ト且全局面上、關係ニ於テ基本的
ナリ拔萃ヲ以下ニ示ス

「彼等ニ侵略國ニヨリ遂行セラレテヰルモノ
普通戰争ハナリ。是ハ是等、征服者タリニ
ノル者が自由ニ生活スル權利ヲ守ル」自衛、爲抵抗
シツツアル國家ニ對ニテ凡エル野蠻的手段ヲ用ヒ
テ行ハシス心譲體戦テアリ。斯ル動向今ヤ
急速ニ世界ニ擴ガシテヰル。

16.7

「經驗が何カラレ入モ、ナラバソシハ匪賊ニ荒サヒタ
ニ於テ最裕福ナリ市民モ其ノ犠牲ヨリ免
ヒトヲ期得アリ加ム如ホル國家も侵略者、攻撃ヨリ免

除セラルモト考フベキ理由ハ完モナシトア示スモナリ。

ノ五頁/

【】思考力有者ハ誰デモ今ヤ半奴隸狀態ニアリ再ヒ文明ノ福祉ヲ享有セントス心望ヲ全フ此征服運動ノ敗北スハ未敗トニ賴ム世界侵略憐ヒナ犠牲者、毎年呼トシテ是モハ直ニ此間ニ對スル答ア自ラ爲シ得ハシアラサ。オストラリアニ「エッコスロザキア」、「ホーリー」、「ヒュエリ」、「オランダ」、「ベルギー」、「ルクセンブルク」、「フランス」、「マニエ」、「カナダ」、「ガリニア」、「コスラヴィア」凡テ然リテア。

【】結論ハ明白デアル。約十五カ國ノ國民が人生ニテ生甲斐アラシナル凡テモラサハタ今ハ將ニ残存スル自由諸國ノ國民が人間トニテ能フ限り十分ニシテ短期間トニ武裝ヲ遂ケ自己保存、爲ニ行動スル時ア。

【】成行ハ此半球ミビ此國、安全が極端に最も効果的アル場合ニ何處ニ於テモ抵抗スル事ヲ要求スルモノアルコトヲ疑フ餘地モナク證明シフ。此ノ政策ハソノ實際的適用ニ於テ援助ハ最短時日ニ最大量ニ目標ニ達セバナラヌコトヲ意味スル。故ニソトヲ爲スベキ方法ヲ見出サニバナラヌ。

No. 9

Doc 220c(24)

「抵抗シ、アル國々ハ第一ニ彼等自身ヲ彼等、家庭ヲ彼等、自由ヲ核ハシテ斗ル」デアル。例ハ英國ハ第一ニ自ラ、安全、為ニ戰ツテ斗ル。米國モノ、直接防禦努力ニ於テモノ又抵抗シ、アル國々ニ對スル援助ニ於テモノ同様ニ先づ第一ニ其、自己、安全、為ニ戰ツテ斗ル」デアル。抵抗シテ斗ル國々、安全ハ我々、保全ヲ意味スルが故ニ、彼等ニ對スル援助ハ又我々自ラ、防禦、重要ナル一部分デアル。新タナル征服が成功スル度ニ侵奪者ハ殘存スル自由諸國ニ對ニ利用スル事、ヨリ大キナ資源ヲ獲得スル」デアル。抵抗シツクアル國民ニ對スル我々、援明ハ單ニ世界、國人、敵を連動シテハナイ。ソレハ場所、如何ヲ問ハズ凡テ、自由國家ハ殘存スル自由國民ニトツテ力強ク後壁デアルト、權力ヲ認識ニ基イテ斗ル。

「英國、敗北ハ要スルニ我等ニハ何、影響モナシト言フ米國人ハ英國、敗北、結果、公海が侵略者ノ手ニ渡ルト云フ事、我々自身、國防及ビ安全ニ重大ナル危険ヲモグラスモ、デアルト言フ事、實ヲ甚シク見落シテ斗ル。海ノ為サハ我々ニ断ニ、時ヲ與ヘテ莫ルカモ知ト。併シソレハ我々ニ安全ヲ與ヘ又。安全ハ侵略者が公海ヲ支配スルヲ他、平和愛好國民ト提携シテ防ジ我々、能力ニヨリテ保テしル」デアル。

「……我々ノ中、斯ル人々ハ既テア國人、而世間ヲ以下體會
者、武裝シテ軍隊ガコト半球、其野地ヲ被エテ謀ル事
ハ我々ハ極端ラスル必要ナトモ、生張シガ井ル。併シナ
カラ、又ハ軍ニ侵蝕國家その他、四大陸及公海ノ實全ニ及
配シ其テクテ凡テ、戰略的制権ヲ據得シ、余ヲ防衛
上、敵、利ニ及比例シテ非常ノ不利ナニ立場ニ置ラシメ
達ハ米國ヲ含ム此半球ノ抵抗ヤクシコトハ無味スル
ニ過カナシノ、更ノ、是ハ極メテ近親故ノ事也危険ヲ
覺解テアル。」

以上、聲明ハ米國故因、體會が曰ク「」、竹島等之領
土ニ依リ、全ク明ラカニサシテ様ニ如何ナシ國王如何ナル地
博モ免レ得ナシ軍方ニ於ニ世界征服ヲ遂ナスル運命
ニ附シテ自衛ノ為断乎タリは既存ケリノアリト
ラ明瞭ニスル。此、態度ハ學毛根本的ナニモ思一郎子
奪フコトニ當サナシ自衛權ニ基シクモテアル。此、政府
が取リ他、既テ態度ハ歐洲ニ於テ約十五ヶ國、國々が今
我々が言ハシテ耳ルが如ク被奪ハ過譽の如キニナシハナリが
昔シソノ國境ヲ越エテ抵抗スル事ヲ全アルナラバ侵略者
テアリ又攻撃ヲシカクテ止ム事ハ言ハシテ謀シテ自衛
的態度テアリ。且テヨリ「」、世界征服運動ニ附スル者必
ケ防衛、立場ヨリシテク、國が同様、経路の上ナラバ
シハシ、安全ニ堪、汝等ナ軍隊防衛上ニ立場アリ、國ニ
思ヒシ、ハシテ眞道ナ自殺的ナリ、ナアル。

Dec 2200 (29)

現下、時局は鑑みヒトトハ此國及ヒ他、同様、位置三下ル國々ヨリナリ
ヒ効果の自衛手段採ル努力必要ヲ直ニ除キ得ル唯一人アル。
之入テ他、國家が米國がスル對抗手段止ル様要求本スルコトハ事實
上斯ル要求ナス國家がヒトヲ「反ヒ」、暴力ヨリ侵略運動味方スルコト
ニテ。從フアサハ權利モ人道モ無視シテ完全ニ屬セシムル為自許
テヒトヲ「ガ攻撃ヲ下ル人ヨリテ寧ロヒト」自身ニ對シ平和支持
為ニ呼ニ樹ケルベキ事ル。
然リ誰が勝ヲ占メルかハ大キナ相違ヲモタス我及ヒ他、四大陸ヲ敵トシ
公海ヲ失ヒ、地球上ニ燐ノ残サヒテ最後、自由、領土ヲ守ルカ又ノ秩序
ニタ世界ニ我久所維持得ル事相違事ル。

外交關係(二)四四六、四五二頁

11
No.

Doc. No. 220C(30)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 175

AMERICAN STATEMENT HANDED TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR
(NOBUKA) ON MAY 31, 1941Unofficial, Exploratory
and Without Commitment

(WASHINGTON) May 31, 1941.

ORAL EXPLANATION FOR SUGGESTED ALIENATIONS TO THE JAPANESE DRAFT

Introductory statement.

A few minor changes have been made in phraseology with a view to clarifying the meaning.

In the list of points enumerated on page two of the Japanese draft, the title of Section III has been altered to conform more accurately to the subject matter, the word "Southwestern" has been omitted from point numbered five and, in view of the new subject matter under point Six (for explanation see infra), part of the subject matter under point six in the Japanese draft has been incorporated in an additional section, the title of which is therefore listed, and part of the subject matter in Section VI of the Japanese draft has been omitted (for explanation see infra).

I. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.

The first paragraph has been omitted in as much as the statement of fact is a self-evident one.

In the third paragraph of the Japanese draft there has been substituted for the word "backward" the word "other" in order to maintain consistency with principles relating to equality of races and peoples.

II. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.

The first paragraph of the Japanese draft has been omitted in order to avoid any implication of inconsistency with statements made by the President to the effect that the present is not an opportune time for the American Government to endeavor to bring about peace in Europe.

To the second paragraph of the Japanese draft a new sentence has been added to emphasize the aspect of self-defense.

Br. Ex. 175

The third paragraph has been omitted in as much as the text of the Tripartite Pact has been published and no purpose would appear to be served by express reference to any of its provisions.

The fourth paragraph of the Japanese draft has been revised to emphasize the protective and self-defense character of the attitude of the United States toward the European hostilities.

A statement in the Annex and Supplement on the part of the Government of the United States contains an elaboration of this Government's viewpoint toward the military movement of conquest inaugurated by Chancellor Hitler.

III. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

As already stated, the title has been altered to describe more accurately the contents.

The statement in the Japanese draft has been rewritten to keep the underlying purport and at the same time to avert raising questions which do not seem fundamental to the basic subject and which are controversial in character and might present serious difficulties from the point of view of the United States.

The statement in the Japanese Annex and Supplement in regard to this section has also been revised in a few particulars in conformity with the considerations mentioned in the preceding paragraph. In addition, point numbered three in regard to economic cooperation has been rephrased so as to make it clear that China and Japan intend to follow in their economic relations the principle of nondiscrimination in international commercial relations, a principle to which it is understood the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government have long subscribed and which principle forms the foundation of the commercial policy of the United States. As it is assumed that the term "troops" in point numbered six is meant to include all armed forces, the language of this point has been slightly rephrased to avoid possible ambiguity.

As already stated, the question relating to communistic activities, including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory, is subject to further discussion.

IV. Commerce between both nations.

A statement is included in the Annex and Supplement on the part of the United States clarifying the point that as a temporary measure during the present international emergency it is understood that each country may restrict export of commodities which it needs for its own purposes of security and self-defense.

V. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.

The language of this section has been rephrased to make the provisions thereof applicable equally to the United States and to Japan.

VI. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.

This section has been revised to make it consist of a clear-cut statement of the fundamental purpose of the understanding. The thought in mind is to give emphasis to this purpose so that the document may speak for itself on this all-important subject.

The statement of fundamental purpose has been assigned a section by itself in order that it may gain added emphasis.

The statement in the Japanese draft in regard to the Philippine Islands has been dealt with in a new section bearing number VII.

The statement in regard to Japanese immigration has been omitted in view of the established position of the United States that the question of immigration is a domestic matter. For that reason, to attempt to include a statement on this subject would stand in the way of the underlying purposes of the agreement.

VII. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

The phraseology of this section has been altered so as to bring it into conformity with the language of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, approved March 24, 1934.

Addendum

In view of the traditional policy of the United States and various practical considerations in the United States, important difficulties would be presented should the Government of the United States endeavor to keep secret the understanding under reference together with its annexes. This Government could probably arrange to keep the understanding secret for a period of a few weeks, during which time it believes that the two Governments should work out procedures covering the scope, character and timing of the announcement of the understanding and of at least the definitive substance thereof.

Foreign Relations II, pp. 451 - 454

Ex 1079

一九四一年 五月三十一日 日本大使(野村) 手交セラ
ル米國側聲明 非公式審査的且委員二附記セズ

(草稿) 一九四一年(昭和十六年) 五月三十一日
日本側草案"に対する修正提案、口頭報明
豫備聲明

意義ヲ明確ナリタル目的ヲ以テ語句上多少、些細ナル
訂正が行へタ。

日本側草案第一頁"列"等セラル諸項、並ニ於テ
第三部十八標題ハ一層精確ニ論題、事項ニ適合セ
リハベ、要更セラレ西南方、語ハ五、番号ヲ附サシタル
項ヨ"削除セラシ而ニテ第六項下、新論題、事項ニ鑑
ニ(下記、説明参照)日本側草案第六項下、論題、事
項、一部ハ追加、一部ニ編入セラシ其、標題ハ從ツテ志中ニ
記載セラレ日本側草案第六部中、論題、事項、一部
ハ削除セラタ

(下記、説明参照)

一、國際關係及國家、性格=對スル合衆國及び日本、
觀念。該事實、論述ハ自明モナルヲ以テ第一項ハ削
除セラシ。

諸民族諸種族平和ニ關する原則上、一致ヲ保タシガ
タノ日本側草案第二項ニ於ケル未開十九語ハ「他」
十九語ニ取替ヘラタ。

二、歐洲戰爭=對スル西政府、態度

No. 1

現在ハ米國政府ニ取り歐洲ニ平和ヲモラスベシ努力スベキ
好機ニ非ズト、大統領聲明ニ不一致トナルコトヲベテ避ケ
ニカタノ日本側草案第一項ハ削除セラシタ。
自衛状況ヲ強調セシカタノ日本側草案第二項ニ新ナル
文書が添加セラシタ。三國條約、原文が公ニセラレ其、明文規定
ノ何レ引用スルモ何等利益ナシト思惟セラルヲ以テ第三項
ハ削除セラシタ。

歐洲戦争ニ対スル合衆國、態度が防衛的且自衛的性
格ヲ有スル旨強調セシカタノ日本側草案第四項ハ改訂セ
ラシタ。合衆國政府側附屬書又ビ補遺中、一聲明ハヒトヲ
總統ニ依リ開始セラシタル征服、タメ、軍事的行動ニ対ス
ル該政府、見解、敷衍ヲ含ム。

三日華間、平和的協定ニ対スル行動

既ニ述べラシタルが如、内容ヲ一層精確ニ表現セシカタノ標
題ハ変更セラシタ。

裏面ニ潜ム趣意ヲ捕捉シ同時ニ根本的論題ニ取リ基本
的ナリズト思惟セラシ且其、性質上論争的トナリ且又合
衆國側見解、卓ヨリ見テ重大ナル困難ヲ醸スモノ知レ
ザル問題惹起ヲ避ケシカタノ日本側草案中、聲明ハ書
改メラシタ。

日本側附屬書又ビ補遺中此、部分ニ關スル聲明モ亦前
項ニ述べラシタル考慮ニ準シ若干、細部ニ於テ改訂セラ
シタリ。更ニ日本子ビ中華民國ハ其、經濟的關係ニ於テ
日本政府又ビ中國政府が長ノ保持ニ來リシコトト解セラル

ル原則、且合衆國商業政策、基礎ヲ成ル原則タル國際商業關係ニ於ケル無差別、原則ニ從フ意向ナル事ヲ明ルニセシガタメ經濟的協同ニ關スル第三十番号ヲ附シタル項目ハ其、語句ヲ改メラシテ。

第六、番号ヲ附シタル項目中「軍隊」語ハ凡テ、武裝兵力ヲ含ムコトヲ意味スルモノト惟定セラル、ヲ以テアリ得ベキ不明瞭ヲ避ケシガタメ此、項、語句ハ多少改メラシタ。

既述、如ノ中國領土内ニ日本軍隊ヲ駐屯セシム件ヲ含ム共產主義運動ニ關スル問題ハ以後、討論ニ譲ラシタ。

四、兩國間、商業

目下、國際的危機、間一時的措置トシテ各國ハ自國、保全自衛、目的ニ要スル商品、輸出ヲ制限シ得ルト解セラシル旨ヲ明ニセル一聲明が合衆國側附屬書ニシテ遺傳ニ包含セラシタ。

五、太平洋水域ニ於ケル兩國、經濟活動

此、部分、語句ハ其、規定ヲ合衆國又は日本ニ等シフ適用シ得ルが如クセシタメ改メラシタ。

六、太平洋水域ニ於ケル政治的安定ニ影響アル兩國、政策此、部分ハソシラ諒解トシフ基本的目的ニ即セル明確ナル聲明トナシガタノ改訂セラシタリ。其、意圖ハ本文書が此、全ノ重要ナル論題ニ就キ自ラノタメ辨シ得ルが如ク此、目的ヲ強調スル在ル

基本的目的、聲明ハソシ一層強調セシカタノンレーニ一部が削リ當テラシタリ。

上律實譜言ニ關スル日本側草案中、聲明ハ第七ナル者是
ヲ有スル事ナムニ於テ取扱ハシ。

日本移民ニ關スル聲明ハ移民問題ヲ國內問題トナス合衆國、確
定セル態度ニ鑑ミ削除セラシ。此、理由ニ依リ此、問題ニ
就キテ、聲明ヲ包含セシメシトスル企ハ協定、基礎、目
的ヲ妨ケルモアアル。

七七律實譜言、中立化

此部分、譜句ハシヲ一九三四年(昭和九年)三月二十四日
可決セラタルタイドミング、マクダフニ法、譜句上一致セシ
シカヌト要更セラシ。

附記

合衆國、傳統的政策又合衆國內、各種實際的考慮ニ鑑ミ若
合衆國政府ニシテ參照文又其、附屬書ニ於ケル諒解ヲ
秘密トスベノ努力シカ重大ナル困難ハ甚起セラシテアリ。又
本政府ハ及ラク諒解ヲ數週間、期間秘密ニスベノ處置
シ得ルテアリ。本政府ハ其、期間中ニ兩政府が諒解或
少クトモ其、確定的內容、範圍、性格又ビ發表、時期
ニ亘ル手續ヲ作成スベキナト信ズ

外交關係 二四五一四三四頁

Document No. 220 C (31)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 176

AMERICAN INFORMAL AND UNOFFICIAL ORAL STATEMENT HANDED
TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (NOMURA) ON MAY 31, 1941

The Government of the United States will at some appropriate stage prior to any definitive discussion talk over in strict confidence with the Chinese Government the general subject matter involved in the discussions, especially as it relates to China.

Document No. 220 C (31)

Foreign Relations, II, p. 454

Br. Ex. 176

AMERICAN INFORMAL AND UNOFFICIAL ORAL STATEMENT HANDED
TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (NOMURA) ON MAY 31, 1941

The Government of the United States will at some appropriate stage prior to any definitive discussion talk over in strict confidence with the Chinese Government the general subject matter involved in the discussions, especially as it relates to China.

Ex-1080

Doc 2200(31)

一九四一年(昭和十六年)五月二十一日 日本大使野村
に手交された米國の非正式且非公式口頭
聲明

合衆國政府は口頭の決定的討議に先
立つて或る適當手段に於いてその討議に會す
一般問題等にそれが支那に關係する所
事項を極秘裡に支那政府と相談する所を
言ふ事である。

外文關係 = 四四四頁

Ex. # 1881?

(1081?)

Doc. No. 220 C (32)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 177

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Excerpts

(WASHINGTON) June 2, 1941.

The Ambassador of Japan came to my hotel apartment at his request.

• • •

I then very slowly and deliberately asked the Ambassador whether it was his considered judgment that his Government seriously and earnestly desired to enter into a settlement, for peace and non-discriminatory commercial relations and friendship generally in the Pacific area. He promptly replied that that was his judgment. I remarked that, in the light of the loud statements which Matsuoka and others were daily making, the question which I propounded was sharply raised, and that one was forced back to the inquiry of whether Japan really is seeking this sort of settlement, or whether she is only seeking a way to get out of China, and otherwise to go forward with methods and practices entirely contrary to the principles which would have to underlie a settlement establishing peace, non-discriminatory commerce and fair friendly relations in the Pacific area. The Ambassador reiterated his view that an earnest and fair settlement was desired.

• • • • •

Foreign Relations II, pp. 454-455

Ex-1081

Doc 220c (32)

國務長官 依 賞書(華盛頓)

啟

一九四一年六月二日

日本大使、彼、願三依^リ松、ホリ^ミ来^ル。シテ
予^リ大使^ヲ日本政府^ガ、太平洋地域^於平和、
無差別貿易關係及友誼、目途^{スル}取極^メナス
了^ト熱心且眞面目^ニ希望^シ古^ト、大使^ヲ慎重^ナ
判断^シ、下^カ下^カ非常^ニ緩^メ且^ハ念^ニ尋^ネ。
彼^即座^レ候^ク、判断^シ下^カ答^ヘ。予^リ松^山、他^者ガ
日母^ニ聲^大ニテナシ、下^カ聲明^昭ス^ト。先^ニ予^リ提^起
起^セ問題^ニ非常^ニ問題^{ナシ}ト^リ。並^ニ吾人[、]日本[、]
眞^ニ此種^ニ解^決求^メナリ^ク。若^シ渾^ミ支那^ヲ脱^ル
道^ヲ求^メナシ^カ、或^シ太平洋地域^於平和、無差別貿^易
及^シ公正^ニ友^好關係^{樹立}取極^メ、基礎^{ナシ}ベ^ク原^則
則^ニ全^く背^離ス^ル方法^ト實^行ト^リ。以^テ前^途ス^ル道^ヲ探^シ
之^ニ宿^ニ遇^セ、カト云^フ。實^間、本ナカバナラヌトニシタ^一
言^ナ。予^リ大使[、]眞面目^ニ公正^ニ解^決を望^メ。日^本
眞^ニ是^ニ繰^返之^述ヘ^ラ。

外交關係

四四一四五一页